PROSPECTUS

Binth Volume of Abe Rational Era. Washington, D. C.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR : JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

The National Era is an uncompromising op popent of Slavery and the Slave power; an advocate of personal, civil, and religious liberty, without regard to race or creed; a foe to all secret combinations to control the Ballot-Box. whether under the direction of priests or laymen; a friend of Temperance, the Homestead, and all reforms calculated to secure to Labor its just consideration, recompense, and political weight. and to Trade, its Natural Freedom, in virtue of which every man has a right to buy and sell in whatever market he pleases. It believes in the right of individual judgment in all matters whether of religion or politics, and rejects the dogma of passive obedience and non-resistance in both Church and State; holding that no man who swears to support the Constitution of the United States can deliberately violate his own settled conviction of its meaning, without incurring the guilt of perjury, and that no citizen can obey a human enactment which requires him to commit injustice, without immorality.

It regards Slavery, and the issues involved in t, as forming the great Political Question of the Day; taking the ground, that Slavery, from its necessities, instincts, and habits, is perpetually antagonistic to Freedom and Free Labor. and unchangeably aggressive; that its workings can be counteracted only by a permanent sys tem of measures; that the Whig and Democrat ic Parties, not having been formed with a view to the issues raised by the Slave Interest, but being held in thrall by it, so far from presenting any resistance to its exactions, afford ities for enforcing them; and that one or both must be broken up, and the true friends of Liberty be united, without regard to old issues or prejudices, on a Party of Freedom, as a necessary preliminary to the overthrow of the Slave Power. It, therefore, gives its earnest support to the Republican Movement, so far as its policy has yet been developed—a movement which

promises to effect such a union.

The National Era, while occupying a decided position in Politics, has amply provided in its Literary Miscellany and News Department for the various wants of the Family. Careful abstracts of Intelligence, Domestic and Foreign, are given every week in its columns; during the sessions of Congress, special attention is devoted to its movements; and it has secured the services of some of the most distinguished literary writers of the country.

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We are from time to time requested to pub-Lish cortain important documents or items nocessary for reference in the advocacy of our might in part be met by the volume of Fates for the People issued two years ago. Owing to our absence in Europe, it was deficient in variety and adaptation to general readers, but fortanately it became the repository of a large amount of documentary matter of permanent importance, especially to writers and speakers on the Anti-Slavery Movement.

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From the following table of contents, any reader may judge whether the work is desira ble to him or not. 1. Ancient and Modern Politicians, by Wi

liam Jay.
2. First Introduction of the Nebraska Terri torial Bill, 1853. 3. Movements in the South on Slavery, prito the Declaration of Independence, fro

American Archives.

tings in Relation to Slavery. 5. Dr. Franklin on Slavery-full extract from his works.

4. Extracts from General Washington's Wr

6. Fast and Loose, Russia and the Union Wages on the Rise-Contributions by Dr. Wr

7. Southern Sentiment, by a Southern W.

8. Democratic Platform, adopted at Bal more, July 1, 1852. 9. Whig Platform, adopted at Baltin

June 8, 1852. 10. Free Democratic Platform, adopted a

Pittsburgh, August 11, 1852. 11. Jefferson's Minutes of Debate in 1776 on the Declaration of Independence-Origina

12. Jefferson's Minutes of Debate on the Ar

ticles of Confederation-all of both debates re-13. The Mauvaises Terres of Nebraska, by

J. G. W. 14. The Issue, by Dr. Wm. Elder. Extracts from the Madison Papers.
 Elliot's Debates on Virginia—State C

vention on the Federal Constitution—Extracts.

17. Do. in the North Carolina Convention on do.-Extracts. 18. The Slave Trade, and Slavery i

British Colonies, &c .- Dr. Wm. Elder. 19. The Minister Hunting the Slave-He Ward Beecher. 20. New York Bible Society and its Prese

er Relations to Slavery.

21. Elliot's Debates in the Pennsylvania
Convention on the Federal Constitution—Ex-

tracts.
22. Debates in the South Carolina Conver tion on the Federal Constitution.

23. Extracts from Jefferson's Notes on Vin

24. Extracts from Jefferson's Plan of a Con

stitution for Virginia.

25. Extracts from Jefferson's Correspond

26. Examination of the Fugitive from Se vice Clause of the Federal Constitution. 27. Extracts from Jefferson's Corresp

ence—concluded. These extracts furnish the most complete views of Jefferson's Opinions on

most complete views of Jefferson's Opinions on Slavery, ever published separately. 28. Exciting Debates in Congress, 1790— from Annals of Congress. 29. Do. in Congress in 1793—from do. 30. Tucker's State of Slavery in Virginia. 31. Examination of the Mosaic Laws of Servitude, by William Jay. 32. The Paramount Question. 33. Senator Atchison and the Territory of Nebraska.

Nebraska. 34. Modern Parable of the Prodigal Son 35. Clause in the Nebraska Bill Aliens-Remarks of Mr. Chase.

36. Native Americanism and the Democracy.

37. Address of the Independent De

in Congress to the People of the United i 38. Copious Extracts from the Great Debate

on Emancipation, in the Legislature of Virgin-in 1832.

39. Southern Democracy.

40. Southern Ideas about Property.

41. Ohio and

44. The Test Vote in the House on the Ne-45. The Duty of Northern Men—The Hour for Union Come. 46. Remarks on the Remark of Edward Ev-

erett, that no Material Interest is at Stake. 47. Parties and Slavery.
48. Shall there be a Party of Freedom? 49. The Difference-Two Millions and Fit

50. The Programme of a Party of Freedon 51. An Argument with the New York Trib une on the Old Policy.

52. The Movements of our Home Popula

ion—the only article of the kind ever published.
53. Speculations of Southern Politicians conerning the Union.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JULY 26, 1855.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

The August No. of Facts for the People is

now ready for mailing. Contents,-Political Facts and Comments-A General Survey. The Slavery Question, in its Precise Relation to American Politics-A Speech by the Hon. George W. Julian.

Our friends who are impressed with the ortance of circulating truth among the People cannot find a cheaper or more reliable melium than the Facts.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The bitter opposition of the Administration and its organs in this city to the Know Nothings, had led us to expect shouts of applause at the turn which events took in the Ohio Convention. Every one is aware that the Convention was composed of all shades of Anti-Slavery men and Anti-Nebraska men, including Independent Democrats, Seward Whigs, Whigs, and Know Nothings. The latter was one of the strongest ingredients of which it was composed, and yet there is not a plank in the platform borrowed from the Know Nothing order. Differing in everything else, the Convention only agreed in condemning and opposing the agressions of Slavery; and, like wise men, they agreed to disagree upon other matters, while miting in solid phalanx upon the platform of Freedom. Each section of the Convention gave up its distinctive name, and waived the assertion of what was peculiar in its organization, in order to form the great Republican party, with Freedom for its central and controlling idea. But the Know Nothing feature being left out, we did expect that the Administration organs in this city would have given vent to their feelings in the most extravagant terms of gratulation. But it seems that we were mistaken. They are unwilling to admit that a great party of Freedom has been organword Republican to enter their columns. Like ing the splendid victories which have been is a man!" twelve months. It is now the leading idea in the free States, around which the friends of Freedom are rallying, from Maine to Kansas; and yet, can it be believed that not one man in ten in Washington has so much as heard of Cause. It has occurred to us that this want it? Liberal newspapers, such as the Era and the Tribune, are at a discount in Washington; and the consequence is, that the great mass of the people here have not the faintest notion of the state of things in the free States. They have a confused idea of the growing power and influence of the Abolitionists, but they confound, in their imaginations, the names of Garrison. Gerrit Smith, Seward, Chase, and Sumner, in ne undistinguishable mass. The organs of

> statesmen whose names follow, and who may be regarded as representing the opinions embodied in the Republican organization. Mr. Garrison and his friends, such as Mr. Wendell Phillips, hold that the Constitution is thoroughly Pro-Slavery-that it is "a covenant with death, and a league with hell;" and hence they are disunionists, open and avowed. They show their conscientious devotion to their principles by a consistent refusal to hold office or vote. They voluntarily disfranchise themselves.

in obedience to the dictates of duty. Mr. Gerrit Smith, whose life of elevated piety and philanthropy " has won golden opinons from all sorts of people"-even from the slaveholders-is regarded as the leader of another small party of Abolitionists, whose views Mr. Chase as a pleasant companion, a friend of the Constitution are the very antipodes of of sports, and as a young man of the strictest those of Mr. Garrison. He and his friends, life, whose high feeling of honor would not altain that the Constitution is thoroughly Anti- of others around him; and it became the gen-Slavery, and that the application of its princi- eral opinion among his associates, that he was ples requires the abolition of Slavery in all the a man who would be sure to make his mark in States by the Federal Government.

We believe that we shall do no injustice to either of these parties by saying that their relying upon his own exertions, he went to numbers are extremely small, amounting to Washington, where he found his uncle, then only a few thousands in all the country. We United States Senator. For some time he ocbelieve that, in 1852, Mr. Smith received less cupied himself with the instruction of the chilthan three thousand votes for the Presidency; dren of several prominent men, among others, and the party headed by Mr. Garrison is per- of the distinguished orator and jurist, William haps not more numerous. Both are highly respectable for the amount of talent, energy, whose family he was looked upon as a son. In and zeal, they display, and for their disinterest- the spring of 1830 he passed his legal examied devotion to principle; but we feel assured that their numerical strength, if it could be aspart of the voting population of the free States. North-for it is now in the process of crystallization around the Republican banner-has been gradually formed from the chaotic ele- being done for the State of Massachusetts by ments of the old disrupted parties.

Its leading and distinguishing principle may oe briefly stated to be this: That Slavery is a great moral and political evil, based on principles utterly repugnant to the Declaration of Legislature directed the attention of the people Independence and the general spirit of the upon him. His practice increased; but his Constitution; that the Constitution tolerated its existence in the States, from a political ne. his great speech, made by him in 1844, before ressity, but gave it no word of approbation; that it is a merely local State institution-depends upon the local law for support, and where to be a masterpiece of eloquence. that is withdrawn, it falls to the ground as a nullity. Hence, it cannot exist in the Territories or in the District of Columbia; that Slavery being against natural right, all clauses of the Constitution, which are supposed or claimed to be favorable to it must be construed strictly; that the clause relative to fugitives from labor, if it refer at all to slaves, institutes a compact among the States, but confers no power on Congress to legislate in the matter. Or it may be the opinion of others who have joined the Republican ranks, that Congress possesses a constructive power of legislation relative to fugitives from labor, which must be cautiously exercised, with indeed a pity, and may serve as a character a sacred reference to those invaluable guaran- istic portraiture of the Democratic party-that

right to touch the institution of Slavery in the ike G. E. Pugh,"

States. It is eminently the State Rights par ty. Every leading man in its ranks is fully committed to this platform. Mr. Chase, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Giddings, Mr. Hale, General Wilson, have a thousand times expressed these views ; and the distinguished Senator from New York, whom we now feel authorized to claim as of the same party, has been equally explicit

n placing himself on the State Rights ground. The effort to ignore the existence of this reat party, or to misrepresent its principles, y confounding them with those of Mr. Garrison on the one hand, or of Mr. Gerrit Smith on the other, will be short-lived. It will make itself felt. We wish the South to understand the position of this party. We regret to see false or exaggerated notions prevail, which are well calculated to excite and irritate the public mind. It is better that the people of the South should know the simple truth. The people of the North propose to take from them no constitutional right — to interfere in none of their domestic institutions; but they mean to divorce the Federal Government from Slavery, and to make it what the Constitution declares its object to be, the conservator of Justice and

We believe that the peace of the country would be greatly promoted by the dissemina tion of correct views through the South, as to the nature and character of the Republican party; but if the demagogues persist in their misrepresentations, and the people persist in shutting their ears to truth, they will wake up, as by a thunder clap, when they have heard the result of the next Presidential election. It is better to learn in time, and prepare for the vent. It will set easier on the mind, by making the idea gradually familiar. Whether the intend to submit to an Anti-Slavery President or not, it is best to know exactly what he is to be beforehand. Let the South have light. G.

A friend has sent us the following tribute to the character of Mr. Chase, which has been translated from the Iowa Staats Zeitung, ; German paper printed at Dubuque:

"Among the few American statesmen who still retain character and principles, and who have not sunk, like Douglas and other subordinate stars, under the pestiferous air in Washington, but have borne up with irresistible power and firmness the banner of Freedom and of Right, in accordance with the principles of Jefferson, against the overwhelming influence of the South, stands forth in particular a man, whose name we would mention with love and esteem. We mean S. P. Chase, the head of the moderate Anti-Slavery and Free Soil party, and the energetic opponent of the corrupt Doughfaces and Know Nothing fanatics of Ohio.

"America is rich in cunning, low politicians, ized, and they have scarcely permitted the but poor, very poor, in statesmen of high principle and consistency, with whom the feeling Reynard, in the fable, they are disinclined to of honor is not utterly extinguished, and whe invite a more hungry swarm of enemies, by have retained at least so much deference for one year. When a Club of subscribers has been forwarded, additions may be made to it, blood. "Better," they think, "to suffer the ills the interest of the State to their personal amon the same terms. It is not necessary that we have, than fly to those we know not of." bition. Yes, if we view the entire mass of This miserable attempt to ignore the Republi- American great men, so called, we shall hardly papers at the same post office.

This miserable attempt to ignore the RepubliMoney may be forwarded, by mail, at

CAN PARTY will not last long. It has been sucbe able to say of one in twenty, what Henry my risk. Large amounts may be remitted in cessful thus far, in this quarter, notwithstand-drafts or certificates of deposit, to Ward Beecher said of Senator Summer—"He

> of the leaders of political parties entirely given over to the interests of the Cotton Aristocracy of the South-because, blinded by their unbounded ambition, they think they can see the means for gaining their object only in the immense power and the ruling influence of the South-while on the other side we meet a large number of venal, characterless office seekers men, too, at times, possessed of no inconsider able talents, who look upon American politics as a cow to be milked, and as a means for making money.

"Mr. Chase belongs neither to the one nor to the other of these classes. He is an ingenuous man, of tried probity, who knows no other public opinion here have never had the frankinterests than those of the entire people. And less to explain, if they know how, that the first as of late his chances as Presidential canditwo gentlemen named, while differing widely date of the liberal Anti-Slavery party have been from each other, differ still more from the largely spoken of, we will furnish our readers with a brief sketch of his life.

"Mr. S. P. Chase was born in 1808, in Cornish New Hampshire. His father died in his infancy; but the limited means of the family did ot prevent his getting a classical education. In his fifteenth year he entered a college in Ohio, over which his uncle, Philander Chase, presided. Two years later, he became a member of the junior class in Dartmouth College: and when he graduated, in 1826, in spite of his youth and the fact that he entered later than the rest, he was almost at the head of those who graduated with him. This indicates his great natural talents, for he spent more time in the reading of miscellaneous writings than upon his studies. His classmates remember such as Wm. Goodell and Mr. Spooner, main- low him to yield to vices which proved the ruin

the world. "After he left college, utterly penniless, and Wirt, in whose office he studied law, and in nation, and settled in Cincinnati, where he commenced, and has ever since continued, the certained, would be less than the one-hundredth practice of law. During the first two years of his stay there, Mr. Chase gave more time to-But the great Anti-Slavery party of the wards perfecting himself in scientific attainments, than to his professional business; and he determined to do for Ohio what was then a committee of the Legislature-namely, the revision of the Statutes of the State. Some three years later, he published his work in three volumes; and its favorable reception by the reputation as a great jurist commenced with the Supreme Court of the United States, in a slave case, and which even Webster pronounced

> "During the six years of his Senatorship, his conduct has shed honor upon that body, both in and out of the Senate Chamber. His speech against the Douglas-Nebraska treason was the most important and weightiest one that was made at that session, in reference to the position he took in the treatment of that question. His defeat before the so-called 'Democratic' Legislature of Ohio, in the beginning of last year, was certainly no want of appre ciation of the merits of Mr. Chase, but a bu ing shame, which a corrupt Democratic Legislature brought upon that party in Ohio. It is

The Richmond Enquirer is the organ of the Virginia Democracy, which, from the time of Jefferson to the present moment, has been regarded as the standard of political orthodoxy, not only in the slaveholding South, but by the the ultra Pro-Slavery spirit of his day, which is Old Line Democracy of the North. It is im- now the Virginia Democratic spirit, to the most portant, therefore to give a wakeful attention to miserable selfishness—a selfishness so mean the oracles which from time to time it utters, for that it was ready to sacrifice the independence the guidance of its followers. But, in order to of the country, rather than yield up a few inderstand its utterances, it is first necessary to slaves to become soldiers. learn that the Virginia Democracy for the time eing is infallible, however inconsistent with tself at other times, and however antagonisti- To the Marquis de Lafayette-April 5, 1783 cal, in point blank, with the teachings of the great apostle, Jefferson, or of his cotemporary lisciples, Madison, Monroe, and others. Hear what the Enquirer now lays down as

"At the North, and in Western Europe, by At the North, and in Western Europe, by attempting to dispense with a natural and necessary, and hitherto univer al limb, element, or institution of society, you have thrown everything into chaotic confusion. In dispensing with domestic Slavery, you have destroyed order, and removed the strongest argument to prove the existence of Deity, the author of that order. The discord the confusion the great order. The discord, the confusion, the wars, the revolutions, the rivalries, excessive competition and antagonism of free society, beget in-fidelity as naturally and inevitably as order and subordination produce faith. Hobbes's philossubordination produce fath. Hobbes's philosophy, 'that man is in a state of continued war with his fellow man,' could only have arisen in free society, where, all being theoretically equal, all are rivals, competitors, and enemies. Hobbes differs from the political community only in being more able and honest than they. He deplores, as an evil, what they recommend as a virtue. They it collecte competition as the life. virtue. They inculcate competition, as the life of trade and essence of morality. The good order, the peace, the protection and affectionate relations of society at the South, induce the beef in a Designer and Author of this order, and thus 'lift the soul from nature up to Nature's God.' The chaotic confusion of free society has the opposite effect. Hence, infidelity and universal liberty have been co-extensive in time and in space. There are few or no infidels in slave countries. The newspapers, the public meetings and discussions, and the books pub-lished, in free societies, teem with infidelities and

the true theory of Democracy:

skepticisms of every hue.

"The vile superstitions springing up every day at the North, furnish as strong evidence of the want of fixed faith of any kind as its open infidelities. Men must wear their religion very loosely about them, who are ready to believe in the isms of the day, or to become Shakers, or Millerites, or Mormons, or Oneida Perfectionists. There is little faith in law or government where the Higher Law doctrines prevail, and anti-rent-ism sometimes rules. There can be little confidence in the existing order of society, but little attachment to that order, and less patriotism, in a country where people are ready to join Owen, or Fourier, or Stephen Pearl Andrews, or Mr. Greeley, in their onslaughts upon all existing nstitutions, and to rush at their bidding into Phalansteries, and New Harmonies, and Trial villes, and their sister villages. But the success, the popularity, and the influence of the Tribunc, is of itself abundant evidence of the larming prevalence of moral, social, and religious skepticism at the North."

What say ye, Hunkers, Doughfaces, and Northern men with Southern principles," to these teachings of the great Southern oracle? If you doubt them in the slightest particular, you become fanatics and Higher Law men. and will be kicked neck and heels out of the party. True, these are hard sayings; they utterly repudiate and deny the principles of the Declaration of Independence, of the Bills of Rights, ing spoken by the oracle of Virginia Democraey, they cannot be controverted by truckling Northern allies, whose place it is to believe and

To men who retain the faculty of walking rect in the presence of a slaveholder, we need not offer arguments in refutation of the pitiable hilosophisms of the Virginia oracle. The edtor declaims flippantly about Northern infidelity, and Northern isms, as the most wicked things in the world; but we have never seen phase of infidelity half so wicked, or an ism half so absurd, as that which the Enquirer exhibits above. The theory which denies to God's intelligent creatures the most sacred rights-which treats them as brutish beasts, disregards the ties of family and kindred, and for pecuniary profit permits them to be bought and sold and worked at the pleasure of any sordid master, is itself the foulest infidelity, the most criminal denial of the supreme and beneficent Ruler of the Universe. It not merev dethrones the Almighty, but enthrones in his place a Demon of cruel selfishness, pride, and lust. It is a thousand times better to believe in no God, than in a God who is made to sanction the wickedness of Slavery. And what ism. in the North or elsewhere, is so contrary to reason, so preposterous, so ridiculous, as the diabolism above laid down, that Slavery is the natural condition of mankind, the condition ordained of Heaven for perpetual preserva-

The complacent Enquirer, after denouncing free society as a failure, and the effort to abolish Slavery as a crime, proceeds to berate the modern Anti-Slavery men, as if they were re sponsible for the Freedom which prevails. It would be far more in point to denounce and vilify the patriots of the Revolution for the sin of establishing Freedom; or to go beyond them, and pour out anathemas upon our English ancestors, for giving birth to Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Revolution of 1688. Every reader of history knows that these renote events in English history are the real basis and origin of American Freedom-that is to say, of civil liberty; and that the great principles which they embody were reiterated and e-established on a far broader basis by the American Declaration of Independence and the American Constitutions. Instead of abusing Greeley, Seward, Chase, and Sumner, therefore, the Enquirer should direct its thunder against the memories of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, and Henry. These and their cotemporaries were the agitators of their day, who turned the world up-side down with their new dogmas; and the modern agitators are only endeavoring to help forward the progressive motion which they commenced on this

that the spirit of modern Virginia and Nation al Democracy is very different from that which prevailed in the times of Jefferson, still it is well to render the change palpable to the dullest comprehension, so that the doughfaces may be stripped of every shadow of excuse for their usillanimous and degrading subserviency to the Slavery propagandists. We therefore quote from the writings of the great leaders of Virginia in her better days, and the contrast will be found most striking.

The historical fact is well authenticated, that Washington was not a favorite of the Virginia Democracy in his day; but, since they have always professed great reverence for his name, we will here quote his authority to show that he is responsible for the Anti-Slavery heresy, in no inconsiderable degree. In reply to a letter from Lieut. Col. John Laurens, of South Carolina, who proposed, in 1782, to raise s regiment of slaves, he says:

"Headquarters, July 10, 1782. "My Dear Sin: The post brought me your letter on the 19th of May. I must confess that

It will be seen that Washington attributed

The foilowing, from the same exalted source to his friend Lafayette, needs no explanation

"The scheme, my dear Marquis, which you propose as a precedent, to encourage the eman-cipation of the black people in this country from the state of bondage in which they are held, is a striking evidence of the benevolence of your heart. I shall be happy to join you in so laudable a work, but will defer going into a detail of the business till I have the pleasare o seeing you."—Vol. viii, pp. 414, 415.

To Robert Morris he writes, April 12, 1786 "I hope it will not be conceived, from these bservations, that it is my wish to hold the unappy people, who are the subject of this letter, in slavery. I can only say, that there ter, in slavery. I can only say, that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it. But there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never

Mr. Jefferson was the founder of the Dem ratic party of Virginia and the Union. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are born free and equal, and equally entitled to life, liberty. and the pursuit of happiness. But the following passage from his Notes on Virginia is directly in point as to Slavery; and we respectfully ask our readers to contrast it with the arti fully ask our readers to contrast it with the arti-cle from the Richmond *Enquirer*. We might God only knows what it is the part of wise men quote columns from his writings, but this is "It is difficult to determine on the standard

which the manners of a nation may be tried,

by habit. There must doubtless be an unhap-by influence on the manners of our people, pro-duced by the existence of Slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous the most unwaiting at the bound of the government, which is the inevitable effect of the eternal laws of Nature. What is to be passions—the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his crable to his grave, he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive, either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But when our sister States are closing their doors generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaure more storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaure more storms, the child looks on the lineaure more storms. ments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose rein to land on all this continent, for soil, and climate the worst of passions; and, thus nursed, education, combined, might become a sort of ted, and laily exercised in tyranny, canno but garden spot, if it were worked by the hands of be stamped by it with odious peculiarities, The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such cir-cumstances. And with what execration should he state man be loaded, who, permitting one half the ritizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patrix of the other; for if a slave can have a country in this world, it Noirs; but something ought to be done. n which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute, as far as depends on his individual endeavors, to the evanishment of the aman race, or entail his own miserable condition or the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their ndustry also is destroyed; for, in a warm climate, no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion, indeed, are ever seen to labor. And can the I berties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm badis— a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? that they re not to be violated but with his wrath? In

among possible events; that it may become robable by supernatural interference! The limighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest." -Notes on Virginia. Mr. Madison, who had more to do in making the Constitution than any other man, said, in

deed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep

forever; that, considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the

wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is

"We have seen the mere distinction of colo nade, in the most enlightened period of time ground of the most oppressive dominion ever exercised by man over man." - Madison Pa

the Federal Convention:

"Mr. Madison. And, in the third place, where Slavery exists, the republican theory becomes still more fallacious."—Page 899. "Mr. Madison thought it wrong to admit, in he Constitution, the idea that there could be operty in men."-Page 1430.

Every intelligent reader knows that the idea of property in man is not in the Constitution for which we are mainly indebted to Mr. Mad

Every Virginian at the period of the Revolu ion, who was worth a button morally or intelectually, was the enemy of Slavery-deplored its existence as a "foul blot" upon the national character, and devoutly cherished the hope that, when the burdens of the present struggle were got rid of, the evil might be remedied.

Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, George Mason, Page, Pendleton, and others, bore strong testimony against the evils and injustice of the institution. But "the stone which the builders rejected, has become the head of the corner," in Satan's kingdom as well as in the Kingdom of God. The Constitution was framed to "establish justice," and to "secure the blessings of Liberty;" but it is now maintained solely for the purpose of upholding and extending Slavery.

But we come nearer to our own nearer home to our Virginia Oracle—that is to say, to the Richmond Enquirer itself, edited at the date of our quotations by Thomas Rito'tie, Esq., father of the present principal editor of that journal. The debate in the Virginia Legislature at

the session of 1831-'32, on the subject of Emanipation, was occasioned by the Southampton surrection, which occurred in the preceding August. The minds of the people were swakened by that event to the continual insecusity and danger of a state of society in which one half of the people are made the natural enemies of the other; and the press almost unani-mously broke forth in condemnation of a ysem to which they justly traced the dilapida tion and decay of agriculture, the absence of arts, manufactures, and internal improvements and the prevalent ignorance among the body of the people. The condition of Virginia was ontrasted with that of the Northern States, in these particulars, and her poverty and degene racy demonstrated on the incontestable autho ity of official statistics. The debate occurred many consecutive days at the session, and must be regarded, by all who peruse it, as one of the ablest, and, owing to the vital importance of the subject, one of the most interesting that has ever occurred on the continent. The Virginian of the present day, who would bury in cause it is ruinous to the whites—retards ima sacred reference to those invaluable guaranties of personal rights which secure to every person the writ of habeas corpus and trial by jury.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY claims no right to touch the institution of Slavery in the right to touch the institution of Slavery in the right to touch the institution of Slavery in the right to touch the institution of Slavery in the right to touch the institution of Slavery in the right to touch the institution of slavery in the right to touch the institution of slavery in the right to touch the institution of slavery in the right to touch the institution of slavery in the right to touch the institution of slavery in the right to touch the institution of slavery in the right to touch the institution of slavery in the right to touch the institution of slavery in the right to touch the institution of slavery in the right to the Democratic party—that a lastonished at the failure of your plan. The spirit of Freedom, which, at the compensation, the short of this debate, is untrue to the honor and renown of his country. No where has genius and liberty been more close to the honor and renown of his country. No where has genius and liberty been more close to the honor and renown of his country. No where has genius and liberty been more close to the honor and renown of his country. No where has genius and liberty been more close to the honor and renown of his country. No where has genius and liberty been more close to the honor and renown of his country. No where has genius and liberty been more close to the honor and renown of his country. No where has genius and liberty been more close to the honor and renown of his country. No where has genius and liberty been more close to the honor and renown of his country. No where has genius and liberty been more close to the honor and renown of his country. No where has genius and liberty been more close to the honor and renown of his country. No where has genius and liberty been more close to the honor and renown of his country. No where has

party was the distinguished editor of the Richnond Enquirer, Thomas Ritchie, Esq., a gentleman of high character, a cool, cautious, and wary politician, whose influence was, perhaps, at that time and subsequently, greater than that of any man in Virginia. Side by side with the Enquirer stood the Richmond Whig, edited by the gallant and impetuous John Hampden Pleasants, a man of brilliant genius, who, for dashing and racy editorial writing has never been excelled in this country. The press of Norfolk, Charlottesville, and other places, responded in manly strains to the Richnond papers; and we believe we shall not be nvidious in saying that a majority of enlightened men in the State took a decided stand in favor of Emancipation.

Among the most distinguished advocates Emancipation, in the House of Delegates, were Mr. Moore of Rockbridge, Mr. Bolling of -Mr. Randolph of Albemarle, Mr. Rives Campbell, General Brodnax of Dinwiddie, Mr. Powell, Mr. Faulkner, and Mr. Summers-the latter of Kanawha.

From the Richmond Enquirer, Jan. 7, 1832-

"It is probable, from what we hear, that the port some plan of getting rid of the free peop color. But is this all that can be done? Ar we forever to suffer the greatest evil which can scourge our land, not only to remain, but to in rease in its dimensions? 'We may shut ou eyes and avert our faces, if we please, (writes an eloquent South Carolinian, on his return from the North, a few weeks ago,) but there it is, the dark and growing evil at our doors; and to do on that momentous and appalling subject Of this I am very sure, that the difference nothing short of frightful-between all that exists on one side of the Potomac and all on th other, is owing to that cause alone. The disease ether catholic or particular. It is more difis deep-seated—it is at the heart's core—it is cor manners of his own nation, familiarized to him by habit. There must doubtless be an unhap-by influence on the manners of our vitals; and I could laugh on such a subject—at the

are moving westwardly in greater number than we like to hear of; when this, the faires white men alone, can we, ought we, to sit quiet ly down, fold our arms, and say to each other 'Well, well; this thing will not come to the worst in our day; we will leave it to our chil dren, and our grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, to take care of themsevles, and brave the storm.' Is this to act like wise men! Heaven knows we are no fanatics—we detest the madness which actuated the Amies des creet, ought to be adopted, for reducing the mass of evil which is pressing upon the South, and will still more press upon her, the longer it is put off. We ought not to shut our ever nor avert our faces, and, though we speak al-most without a hope that the committee of the Legislature will do anything at the present sesion to meet this question, yet we say now, in the utmost sincerity of our hearts, that our

visest men cannot give too much of their atten tion to this subject, nor can they give it to Such were the views and such the Demo ratic spirit of the Richmond Enquirer twenty. three years ago, at a time when it was edited by the honored father of the present editor, who was himself the disciple and friend of Jeffer son, and the ardent supporter of all the Demo cratic Administrations. In fact, the Enquirer was, at the time the above article was written the trusted Virginia organ of General Jack son's Administration. But the son has forsa ken the generous faith in Freedom which actuated the father, and now revels in the spirit of Despotism and Slavery-and, worst of all, the beggarly Northern allies of the Virginia Deocracy, true to their allegiance, have recanted the creed of Freedom at the bidding of their Southern masters, and have become the willing nstruments in upholding and extending the

surse and plague-spot of Slavery. We might illustrate further the great changes the nature and character of Virginia Deocracy, by extended quotations from the de bate above referred to, but we have only room for a few brief extracts.

Mr. MOORE, of Rockbridge, said : "If we look back through the long course me which has elapsed since the creation to the present moment, we shall scarcely be able to point out a people whose situation was not in many respects, preferable to our own, and that of the other States, in which negro Sla very exists. True, sir, we shall see nations which have groaned under the yoke of despotism for hundreds and thousands of years; but the individuals composing those nations have enjoyed a degree of happiness, peace, and free

dom from apprehension, which the holders of slaves in this country can never know." Mr. Rives, of Campbell, said : "On the multiplied and desolating evils Slavery, he was not disposed to say much. The urse and deteriorating consequence were with

in the observation and experience of the mem-bers of the House and the people of Virginia, and it did seem to him that there could not be two opinions about it.' Mr. POWELL said :

"I can scarcely persuade myself that ther s a solitary gentleman in this House who will not readily admit that Slavery is an evil, and

that its removal, if practicable, is a consumma-tion most devoutly to be wished. I have not heard, nor do I expect to hear, a voice raised in this Hall to the contrary." Mr. PRESTON said: "Sir, Mr. Jefferson, whose hand drew the reamble to the Bill of Rights, has eloquently emarked that we had invoked for ourselves the benefit of a principle which we had denied to others. He saw and felt that slaves, as men,

Mr. SUMMERS, of Kanawha, said : "But, sir, the evils of this system cannot ! numerated. It were unnecessary to attempt. They glare upon us at every step. When he owner looks to his wasted estate, he knows Mr. CHANDLER, of Norfolk, said:

were embraced within this principle

"It is admitted, by all who have addressed this House, that Slavery is a curse, and an increasing one. That it has been destructive to the lives of our citizens, history, with unerring truth, will record. That its future increase will create commotion, cannot be doubted." Mr. RANDOLPH, of Albemarle, said : " How can an honorable man, a patriot, and

"How can an honorable man, a patriot, and a lover of his country, bear to see this ancient Dominion, rendered illustrious by the noble devotion and patriotism of her sons in the cause of Liberty, converted into one grand menage-rie, where men are to be reared for market, like oxen in the shambles?" Mr. THOMAS MARSHALL, of Fauguier, said :

"Who, sir, that looks at this property as a legislator, and marks its effect upon our national advance, but weeps over it as the worst of patrimonies? Who that looks to this unhappy bondage of our unhappy people in the midst of our society, and thinks of its incidents and its issues, but weeps over it as a curse upon

him who inflicts as upon him who suffers it?" Mr. PHILIP A. BOLLING, of Buckingham. "The time will come-and it may be sooner

than many are willing to believe—when this oppressed and degraded race cannot be held as

hey now are when a change will be effected, by means abhorrent, Mr. Speaker, to you, and to the feelings of every good man.
"The wounded adder will recoil, and sting the foot that tramples upon it. The day is fast approaching, when those who oppose all action upon this subject, and, instead of aiding in devising some feasible plan for freeing their country from an acknowledged curse, cry 'impossible,' to every plan suggested, will curse their perverseness, and lament their folly."

Mr. FAULENER, of Berkeley, said :

"Wherever the voice of your people has been neard, since the agitation of this question, it has sustained your determination, and called for the present inquiry. I have heard of courts, meetings, county petitions, and county memorials. I have heard from the North, the East, and the South. They are all, with one voice, against the continuance of Slavery-none for t. The press, too-that mirror of public sentiment-that concentrated will of a whole community-has been heard from one extremity of the State to the other. Its power is with us; its moral force is united, efficient, and encoura-

These extracts are taken from long and able Anti-Slavery speeches, made in the Virginia Legislature twenty-three years ago. They were the teachings of the Virginia Democracy during General Jackson's first Presidential term. But now, how changed! From the most gen- Whigs-or, rather, with the hope of inducing erous aspirations for universal freedom, to the most degrading maxims of despotism!

Mr. Faulkner, the last gentleman quoted above, is now a member of Congress, and, like which represents the Rip Van Winkle secti the Enquirer, a champion of Slavery.

The above extracts, from the highest Southern authorities, would seem to be sufficient to open the eyes of the most inveterate Hunker to he deplorable degeneracy of the Southern Democracy, and to absolve him, in foro conscien- in "these new parties" — as if Whigery its tiæ, from his allegiance to party. We think the case is clearly made out, that a man cannot adopt or acquiesce in the modern Southern political dogmas, without repudiating those of our Revolutionary ancestors, as well as those which prevailed since the present generation came on the stage of action.

"GROANS OF THE BRITONS."

It is refreshing in this hot weather to hear he groans and witness the contortions of the loughfaces and slaveocrats, called forth by the evident tendency of events in the free States. Mr. Toombs said that the wailings and clamor of the Abolitionists and Free-Soilers, over the these men were in principles and measures ; Nebraska Bill, was music to his ears; and, thumping his breast with his fist, he proclaimed to the Senate and the country, that their lamentations did his heart good. But it is now our turn to rejoice at the calamity of the Propagandists, and to mock when their fear cometh.

The New York Herald says : "Joshua R. Giddings, the ruling spirit of this Ohio Amalgamation Convention, may be considered as the embodiment of its principles and purposes. True, he thought its resolutions were rather mild; but they are certainly strong enough for any sectional scheme short of open eral Government. The sum and substance of both this Ohio and this Indiana nigger-worshipping Convention is a sectional crusade agains

"They speak of a National Convention, but the thing is absurd. Their National Convention, like that at Buffalo in 1848, and that at south by Mason and Dixon's line and the Ohio river, only the party enrolled under it threaten to be a thousand times more formidable and dangerous than any Anti-Slavery combination 1819-'20. We see before us now no loophol of escape from the perilous contingencies of sectional scrub race, involving the most hostile and embittered elements of sectional jealou sies, hatred, violence, discord, and disruption In the North, the Anti-Slavery Fusionists are riding rough-shod over all obstructions. The nave absorbed the new American party through out the New England States; they have redu ced it to a capitulation in Pennsylvania; the have swallowed it up at a mouthful in Ohi and Indiana; and almost everywhere else throughout the Northern States, excepting the State of New York, we find the Know Nothings playing second fiddle and acting as tide-waiter to the Seward Holy Alliance. This is a deplorable state of things," &c.

The American Organ, of this city, says: "Our seceding allies seem absolute dough faces; their platform seems tame and harmle alongside of that promulgated by the Red Re-publicans of Columbus; and upon a competition for the vote of those who are anxious to repudiate the action of the Federal Government upon the subject of Slavery, we presume that the platform of the seceders could not obtain one in one hundred against that of the Free Soilers, for this is a crisis which admits on neutral ground. We must maintain the law as it is, or drift away into an illimitable ocean of innovation. The fanatics, with shrewdness which sometimes characterizes in sanity, have restrained the zeal of their followers, until those who had been incensed against the Missouri legislation might have joined their ranks. They now find it impossible to do so any longer; they proclaim their purposes; it is a war of agitation, even to the dissolution of the Union, or the destruction of every fraternal

tie which binds its members together "In this object they have accepted the aid of aliens of every clime, of fanatics of every faith, to overthrow an institution recognised by law and usage. They may, without inconsist-ency, offer a Cabinet appointment to the Pa-pists, and foreign missions to foreign refugees. Americans, who dread the enmity of foreign and fanatical foes even more than the imaginary aggressions of your own fellow-citizens, are you willing to follow these enemies of the Union in their nefarious and treasonable purposes? Reflection, and the terrible depths of that chasm now opening between your purpose and the avowed objects of your enemies an ours, will convince you that the only safe platform is the law as it is. Let us, then, close ranks upon that platform, abide by and main tain it against all enemies."

" Abolitionism leads the Column .- The fell spirit of Abolition boldly marshals the way of the present opposition to the Democratic party. It has contributed the largest amount of money and of men to-the grand Anti-Dem cratic movement. All others are allies, just as the Turks are allies to the French and English n the Crimea, and will be used like the Turkstheir possessions seized, their rights invaded and themselves made the hewers of wood and drawers of water for their new masters.

The Washington Union says

POLITICS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The Pittsburgh Gazette suggests the propri ety of holding a Republican State Convention in that city, on the 29th August, for the purpose of organizing on the true principles of Freedom and the Constitution. Without expressing any opinion as to the propriety of the day named, or the place of meeting, we sincerely trust that the friends of the cause will see the necessity of immediate and energetic action. Now is the time to effect an organization in which all friends of Freedom may cooperate, free from the spirit of proscription of ects or classes—an organization which, if wiseframed and well-directed, cannot fail to sweep the State by thousands at the ensuing elections. The spirit of Freedom is in the ascendant, and the disposition to cast aside all secondary questions was never so favorable. The enemies of Slavery will be inexcusable if they let slip this glorious opportunity. G.

SPIRIT OF THE WEST

The Conventions of the people in Indiana and Illinois, the result of whose proceedings will be published in next week's Era, are, on the whole, highly gratifying. It is to be regrette that they have not, like their Ohio neighbo abandoned entirely their narrow exclusivene as to Catholies and foreigners; but we this that their resolutions show a far more liber: spirit in these particulars than was expected by the friends of Freedom; and there is room to hope that they will yet see the propriety laying aside a creed which must forever divid and distract the friends of the cause, prevent cordial union, and frustrate effective action.

Let all be ready to sacrifice something the good of the cause. Let Tariffs, Free Trade and Nativism, take care of themselves, in the best way they can; but let none of them stan in the way of a cordial union of all the frianof Freedom, on the all-essential platform which declares that Freedom is national, and Slave sectional-that there shall be no Slavery side of the slave States.

NEW YORK POLITICS. The Whig Central Committee of the State

New York met at the Astor House on the 1st

instant, and called a Convention of the pur-

to meet at Syracuse on the 26th day of S

tember, for the purpose of nominating cand

dates to be supported at the ensuing general

election, and also to consider such questions

public interest as may properly come before At the same time and place, the Republican party propose to hold a Convention for similar objects, and, as is said on reliable author with the view of forming a fusion with the the Whigs to join the Republican ranks. W are happy in being able to state, on the relu tant testimony of the Commercial Advertis of Whigery, that there is every probability the success of this measure. The Advertis has drunk too deeply of the fatal flagon which was the undoing of poor Rip, to learn anythi or forget anything-and hence its want of fair was not a new party twenty years ago, while never acquired consistency of principle or un formity of faith and object among its member In its very inception, and during its whole istence, (which is now happily, we wish could say honorably, terminated,) it was con posed of every extreme of opposition to the called Democratic party, of which Gen. Jacson was the head. It at the same time er braced within its folds Massachusetts Federa Protectionists and South Carolina State Right Free Traders. Its leaders in the North and West were Webster and Clay -- in the South Calhoun and McDuffie. Every one knows that the opposite extremes of the political compasand only agreed as to the propriety of puttin down Gen. Jackson's Administration. S through the whole existence of the party ther was always the same incongruity between th Northern, Southern, and Western wings of the Whig party. In fact, it never was in any prop

non enemy, the Jackson party. How different the Republican party, and the platform of principles which unites its men pers! It has a unity of purpose which ha never yet actuated any party in this country except that which constitutes one of its princ oal elements -- the Independent Democrati party. Not to have faith in it, is not to have faith in the triumph of Truth and Freedom.

sense a party, but merely a coalition of discord

ant factions, headed by most able and for the

most part patriotic men, who agreed in nothin

OHIO REPUBLICAN CONVENTION We gave in the last Erg a brief sketch he proceedings of the great and important Convention at Columbus, Ohio, Thinking of eaders will be glad to see the details of movement so pregnant with future consequences

OHIO REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION COLUMBUS, July 13, 1855. The Convention was called to order by the appointment of Benjamin S. Cowan as President, and Mr. W. B. Allison, of Ashland, an Mr. Herrick, of Portage, as Secretaries.

It was decided to name a Committee of or

ces, we subjoin the following report :

from each Congressional district, to decide o candidates; and suggested that each delegate when the roll was called, should give his po office address. The Secretary proceeded to call the Congre sional delegation in order. The delegates from the various districts were called to assemble it

various corners, and great confusion ensue The press and heat became excessive, and hal en calls and motions were being made a

Next, there was appointed (one from ex Congressional district) a Committee on Perma nent Organization. In the same way was ap pointed the following:

Committee on Resolutions. — 1st district,
M. Gitchell; 2d, Colonel William Schouler; 3 D. W. Iddings; 4th, Justin Hamilton; 5 William A. Hunter; 6th, David Fagan; 7th,

H. Dunlevy; 8th, Benjamin Stanton; 9th, K. Watson; 10th, E. Nye; 11th, Alfred Thomson; 12th, John W. Andrews; 13th, F. D. Paten; 14th, H. E. Peck; 15th, George W. Tru 16th, S. B. Tomkins; 17th, Hugh Forsyth 18th, Thomas Earl; 19th, Rufus P. Spalding 20th, J. R. Giddings; 21st, Dr. James Rober The Hon J. R. Giddings moved that a Con mittee of five be appointed by the permanen Chair, to correspond with gentlemen of othe States, with a view of organizing a Nationa

Republican party. On motion of Col. Scho er, this matter was referred to the Committee

Various motions to adjourn were made, b at length it was determined to have a speed and the Hon. I. D. Campbell was called. Mr. Campbell said that the honor of b called upon to address an assemblage compared of such elements was greatly enhanced the cause in which the multitude came up, a the day which was commemorated; the I July should be held as sacred by the pec the Northwest as the 4th of July by the peof of the whole Union. The 13th of July was t day of Freedem for the great Northwest. Ea

nember of that Convention, he presume prepared to sacrifice something for the comgood—to lay aside petty animosities, and p mote with one grand impulse the cause of man Freedom. His position on the Slave nuestion was one that he presumed would heartily responded to by the mass of that me ng. He would give Slavery all of its consti ional right, but would resist to the last extra ity and the bitter end its farther aggre-Ie gave some of the statistics popular in An Slavery lectures, made reference knives and revolvers by which elections a controlled in Kansas, talked of the arm of the slave power being thrust into the Nation reasury-of the purchase of the Messilla Va ley; one million of the dollars paid for that val-ley, he said, was paid out of the pockets of the people of Ohio, when the Ohioans would not have given for it five cents, if they had had a say about it. The people of the Northwes should make a war of extermination on doughfaces. The men of the South excited his admiration, in comparison with the truck lers of the North, who sold themselves to the slave power. Let the people of the North meet the questions at their own doors-let them ex erminate the doughfaces. It was said that there was to be a burst-up in that Convention [Several voices. Not agreed.] There were men gathered about Columbus from all parts of the